

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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P R 251405Z SEP 75

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2809

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 372

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 25, 1975
(SALT TWO-799)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON
AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF SEPTEMBER 25, 1975, INCLUDING
PROPOSED LANGUAGE FOR ARTICLE VII.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON

SEPTEMBER 25, 1975

MR MINISTER:

I

TODAY I WILL ADDRESS ARTICLE VII OF THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT.
THIS ARTICLE HAS TWO PRINCIPAL PURPOSES. THE FIRST PURPOSE
IS TO EXEMPT FROM THE 2400 AGGREGATE LIMITATION PROVIDED FOR
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IN ARTICLE III CERTAIN SPECIFIED LAUNCHERS. THE SECOND

PURPOSE IS TO ASSURE THAT THIS EXEMPTION NOT BE USED TO CIRCUMVENT THE LIMITATIONS OF THE AGREEMENT.

THE LAUNCHERS THAT ARE TO BE EXEMPTED FROM THE 2400 AGGREGATE LIMITATION ARE THOSE ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS THAT ARE USED FOR TESTING OR TRAINING. IN ADDITION, THE TWO DELEGATIONS HAVE CONSIDERED AN EXEMPTION FOR LAUNCHERS OF SPACE VEHICLES.

THE SIDES HAVE DISCUSSED THIS ARTICLE AT SOME LENGTH, AND THE US DELEGATION HAS CAREFULLY CONSIDERED THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY THE SOVIET DELEGATION. THEREFORE, I BELIEVE IT WILL BE USEFUL AT THIS TIME TO DISCUSS THIS ARTICLE IN ITS ENTIRETY. AS PART OF THIS DISCUSSION I WILL TABLE A NEW UNITED STATES PROPOSAL FOR ARTICLE VII OF THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT. THE TEXT OF THIS PROPOSAL IS:

1. THE LIMITATION PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE III OF THIS AGREEMENT SHALL NOT APPLY TO ICBM AND SLBM TEST AND TRAINING LAUNCHERS OR TO SPACE VEHICLE LAUNCHERS FOR EXPLORATION AND USE OF OUTER SPACE. A TEST AND TRAINING LAUNCHER IS A LAUNCHER USED ONLY FOR TESTING OR TRAINING.

2. THE PARTIES AGREE THAT:

(A) THERE SHALL BE NO SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF ICBM OR SLBM TEST AND TRAINING LAUNCHERS OR IN THE NUMBER OF SUCH LAUNCHERS FOR HEAVY ICBM'S;

(B) NEW OR ADDITIONAL ICBM TEST AND TRAINING LAUNCHERS SHALL BE LOCATED ONLY AT TEST RANGES;

(C) CONSTRUCTION OR CONVERSION OF ICBM LAUNCHERS AT TEST RANGES SHALL BE UNDERTAKEN ONLY FOR PURPOSES OF TESTING AND TRAINING;

(D) THERE SHALL BE NO CNVERSION OF ICBM TEST AND TRAINING LAUNCHERS OR OF SPACE VEHICLE LAUNCHERS INTO ICBM LAUNCHERS SUBJECT TO THE LIMITATION PROVIDED

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FOR IN ARTICLE III OF THIS AGREEMENT.

II

THE FIRST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 1 OF THE US PROPOSAL PROVIDES THAT THE LIMITATION OF ARTICLE III OF THE NEW AGREEMENT SHALL NOT APPLY TO ICBM AND SLBM TEST AND TRAINING LAUNCHERS OR TO SPACE VEHICLE LAUNCHERS FOR EXPLORATION AND USE OF OUTER SPACE.

THE US DELEGATION, HAVING TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT CONSIDERATIONS EXPRESSED BY THE SOVIET DELEGATION, HAS MODIFIED THE US PROPOSAL OF AUGUST 22 SO AS TO EXEMPT EXPLICITLY SPACE VEHICLE LAUNCHERS FROM THE LIMITATION OF ARTICLE III.

THE SECOND SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 1 OF THE US PROPOSAL MAKES CLEAR THE MEANING OF THE TERM "TEST AND TRAINING LAUNCHERS", WHICH APPEARS IN THE FIRST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 1, AS WELL AS IN SUBPARAGRAPHS 2(A), 2(B), AND 2(D). THE SECOND SENTENCE PROVIDES THAT A LAUNCHER MUST BE USED ONLY FOR TESTING OR TRAINING IN ORDER TO QUALIFY FOR THE EXEMPTION PROVIDED BY THE FIRST SENTENCE. THE SECOND SENTENCE IMPLEMENTS THE US VIEW THAT A LAUNCHER WHICH IS PART OF A SIDE'S OPERATIONAL FORCES BUT WHICH IS ALSO USED FOR TESTING OR TRAINING SHOULD NOT BE EXEMPT FROM THE AGGREGATE LIMITATIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

I WOULD LIKE TO REPEAT, IN CONNECTION WITH THIS ARTICLE, THE US PROPOSAL THAT THE NEGOTIATING RECORD REFLECT THE COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF THE SIDES THAT THE TERMS "TEST" AND "TESTING" AS USED THEREIN INCLUDE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT.

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III

SUBPARAGRAPH 2(A) OF THE US PROPOSAL FOR ARTICLE VII SPECIFIES THAT THERE SHALL BE NO SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF ICBM OR SLBM TEST AND TRAINING LAUNCHERS OR IN THE NUMBER OF SUCH LAUNCHERS FOR HEAVY ICBMS. THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR THIS PROVISION DOES NOT MENTION LAUNCHERS FOR HEAVY ICBMS. THE US DELEGATION KNOWS OF NO RATIONALE FOR THIS OMISSION, AND NOTES THAT THE US PROPOSAL IS CONSISTENT WITH THE UNDERSTANDING EXPRESSED BY THE SIDES IN THE INTERIM AGREEMENT. FOR REASONS WELL KNOWN TO THE SIDES, WE AGREE THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT WILL LIMIT THE NUMBER OF LAUNCHERS FOR HEAVY ICBMS TO BE INCLUDED UNDER THE AGGREGATE LIMITATIONS OF THE AGREEMENT. FOR THOSE SAME REASONS THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT THE NUMBER OF TEST AND TRAINING LAUNCHERS FOR HEAVY ICBM'S, WHICH ARE EXEMPTED FROM THE AGGREGATE LIMITATIONS, ALSO SHOULD BE LIMITED.

IN CONNECTION WITH SUBPARAGRAPH 2(A), THE SIDES HAVE AGREED THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO "SIGNIFICANT INCREASE" IN THE NUMBER OF TEST AND TRAINING LAUNCHERS. IN THIS US VIEW, THE SIDES
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SHOULD ALSO AGREE THAT THE TERM "SIGNIFICATN INCREASE" MEANS AN INCREASE OF 15 PER CENT OR MORE, SO THAT THE SIDES HAVE A COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF THE MEANING OF THAT TERM AS USED IN THIS SUBPARAGRAPH.

I WILL NOW ADDRESS THE LOCATION OF THE NEW OR ADDITIONAL TEST AND TRAINING LAUNCHERS ALLOWED BY SUBPARAGRAPH 2(A). IF A SIDE WERE TO LOCATE SUCH LAUNCHERS IN AREAS OTHER THAN TEST RANGES, IT COULD LEAD TO SITUATIONS WHICH MIGHT BE CONSIDERED AMBIGUOUS BY THE OTHER SIDE. ACCORDINGLY, THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES IN SUBPARAGRAPH 2(B) TO MAKE CLEAR THAT ANY NEW OR ADDITIONAL ICBM TEST AND TRAINING LAUCHERS BE LOCATED ONLY AT TEST RANGES.

SUBPARAGRAPH 2(C) OF THE US PROPOSAL ALSO CONTAINS A PROVISION BASED UPON AN INTERIM AGREEMENT UNDERSTANDING, NAMELY THAT CONSTRUCTION OR CONVERSION OF ICBM LAUNCHERS AT TEST RANGES SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN ONLY FOR PURPOSES OF TESTING AND TRAINING. THE SIDES ARE IN AGREEMENT ON THE INCLUSION OF THIS PROVISION IN THE NEW AGREEMENT.

SUBPARAGRAPH 2(D) OF THE US PROPOSAL BUILDS UPON THE SOVIET PROPOSAL THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO CONVERSION OF SPACE VEHICLE LAUNCHERS INTO ICBM LAUNCHERS. THE US PROPOSAL, HOWEVER, SPECIFIES THAT THE ICBM LAUNCHERS REFERRED TO ARE THOSE SUBJECT TO THE LIMITATION PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE III OF THE NEW AGREE-
MENT. FURTHER, THE US PROPOSAL PROHIBITS THE CONVERSION OF

ICBM TEST AND TRAINING LAUNCHERS INTO ICBM LAUNCHERS SUBJECT TO THE LIMITATION PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE III OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. SUCH CONVERSIONS OF TEST AND TRAINING LAUNCHERS OR SPACE VEHICLE LAUNCHERS, WERE THEY ALLOWED, COULD PROVIDE A MEANS FOR CIRCUMVENTING THE PROHIBITION ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF ADDITIONAL FIXED ICBM LAUNCHERS.

IV

MR. MINISTER, I SUGGEST THAT THE DRAFTING WORKING GROUP CONSIDER THIS US PROPOSAL FOR ARTICLE VII AT ITS EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY. JOHNSON

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